

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00  
SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 IO-13 PM-05 H-01 INR-07  
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FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5705  
INFO USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE  
EC COLLECTIVE  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L COPENHAGEN 0227

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O.: 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, EEC, DA  
SUBJ: US-EC PRESIDENCY DIALOGUE: READ OUT ON POLITICAL DIR-  
ECTORS' MEETING, COPENHAGEN, JANUARY 10-11: CSCE

1. THE PRESENT MESSAGE REPORTS THE EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE'S  
APPROVAL OF A "REPORT ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WORK OF THE  
BELGRADE MEETING 1977." THE TEXT, WHICH IS A 9-1/2 PAGE SINGLE-  
SPACED DOCUMENT, HAS, THE DANES TELL US, BEEN TRANSMITTED EARLY  
THIS AFTERNOON (JANUARY 11) TO NATO FOR DISTRIBUTION TO THE SEC-  
RETARIAT AND TO THE INDIVIDUAL NATO MISSIONS. THE TEXT WAS ALSO  
TRANSMITTED LATE THIS AFTERNOON TO THE DANISH EMBASSY IN WASH-  
INGTON IN ORDER TO PASS IT TO AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG BEFORE HIS DE-  
PARTURE THURSDAY EVENING, JANUARY 12, FOR COPENHAGEN.

2. IN COMMENTING TO US THIS EVENING ON THE CSCE DISCUSSIONS,  
BOTH IN THE EXPERTS MEETING JANUARY 9-10 AND IN THE DISCUSSION  
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BY THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TODAY OF THE EXPERTS' RECOMMENDATIONS,  
OUR MFA INTERLOCUTOR (FRIIS-MOLLER) SAID THAT THE DRAFT REPORT  
PREPARED BY THE DANES WAS ACCEPTED WITH LITTLE CHANGE. AS IT  
TURNED OUT, ONLY THREE OF THE NINE CSCE HEADS OF DELEGATION  
ATTENDED THE JANUARY 9-10 MEETINGS: FISCHER OF THE FRG; O'SUL-  
LIVAN OF IRELAND; AND MELBIN OF DENMARK. THE NEXT MEETING OF THE  
NINE'S CSCE WORKING GROUP HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR COPENHAGEN ON

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 6, IN ANTICIPATION OF THE FEBRUARY 7-8 EC POLITICAL COMMITTEE MEETING. THE NEXT SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION AMONG THE ALLIES OF CSCE WILL TAKE PLACE AT NATO ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 13.

3. IN DISCUSSING THE REPORT OF THE NINE'S POLITICAL DIRECTORS, FRIIS-MOLLER SAID THAT THE MOST OPERATIVE PART WAS "4. GENERAL AIMS OF THE NINE AND WAYS AND MEANS TO ATTAIN THEM." ONE OF THE NINE WANTED A QUICK EXPOSITION WHEN BELGRADE RECONVENES ON JANUARY 17 OF A NEW "FINAL" WESTERN PRIORITY LIST TO SHOW THE EAST WHAT WAS REALLY ULTIMATELY WANTED. INSTEAD, THE DESIRE OF THE OTHER EIGHT CARRIED. THIS WAS TO CALL FOR A REACTION FROM THE EAST TO THE ALLIES' COMPOSITE PAPERS SUBMITTED BEFORE THE CHRISTMAS RECESS. ALTHOUGH PERFUNCTORY EASTERN RESPONSES HAD BEEN OBTAINED, NO SERIOUS ANSWERS HAVE YET BEEN RECEIVED. ACCORDINGLY, UNDER PART 4. OF THE REPORT THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE APPEARS: "THE NINE WILL IN THE COMING WEEKS HAVE TO CONSIDER THEIR PRIORITIES IN ORDER TO REACH A VIABLE COMPROMISE...."

4. IN RECALLING THE CSCE EXPERTS DISCUSSION OF THIS MATTER, FRIIS-MOLLER SAID THAT THE PREVAILING VIEW WAS THAT IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO SHOW THE ALLIES' HAND SO COMPLETELY SO EARLY IN THE RESUMED SESSION. FURTHERMORE, IN THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING AND DISCARDING PRIORITIES, SOME MIGHT BE DROPPED THAT DIDN'T HAVE TO BE.

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5. THE OTHER "FUDGY" LANGUAGE THAT IS CONTAINED IN THE REPORT CONCERNS THE VENUE FOR A POST BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP. THE REPORT SUPPORTS MADRID AS THE NEXT VENUE BUT CONTINUES THAT IF "MADRID IS NOT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES, THE NINE SHOULD ADVOCATE HOLDING THE MEETING IN ANOTHER PARTICIPATING STATE, BUT NOT NECESSARILY IN A NEUTRAL OR NON-ALIGNED CAPITAL." ONE OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OBSERVED THAT SINCE THE EAST WOULD PRESUMABLY REFUSE TO HOST THE NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING. IF NO NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED CAPITAL WAS CHOSEN, HE ASKED WHICH OF THE NINE WOULD BE WILLING TO SERVE AS HOST? THERE WAS SILENCE. FRIIS-MOLLER ADDED THAT THE VENUE FOR THE NEXT FOLLOW-UP MAY WELL BE ONE OF THE LAST THINGS AGREED UPON AT BELGRADE.

6. THE REPORT POSES FOUR OPTIONS IF IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT NO SATISFACTORY TEXT IS LIKELY TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS BY MID-FEBRUARY IN BELGRADE. THE NINE DISMISSED TWO AND CONCLUDED THAT ONLY THE FOLLOWING WOULD BE SATISFACTORY TO THE WEST: "1. TO CONTINUE THE MEETING UNTIL A SATISFACTORY TEXT HAS BEEN ADOPTED. "2. TO CONCLUDE THE MEETING BY AGREEING ON A SHORT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WHICH BEYOND SETTING THE DATE AND THE PLACE OF THE NEXT SIMILAR MEETING LIMITS ITSELF TO LARGELY FACTIONAL LANGUAGE."

7. IN ENDING HIS BRIEFING, FRIIS-MOLLER HOPED THAT BY THE TIME OF THE NEXT SCHEDULED EXPERTS MEETING ON FEBRUARY 6, THINGS WOULD BE RAPIDLY FALLING INTO PLACE. HE RECALLED THAT IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS ON CSCE MATTERS NOT A GREAT DEAL WAS AGREED UPON UNTIL THE VERY LATE STAGES OF THE CONFERENCES. DEAN

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